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	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	CORE-00	/058W		
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P 311503Z AUG 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4572
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 KIGALI 03224

FOR AF/C, AF/RA, AND IO

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, RW
SUBJECT: PREPARING FOR THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT

REFS: (A) KIGALI 03111, (B) KIGALI 03107

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1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL LEADERS ARE PREPARING FOR THE INSTALLATION OF THE NEXT TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. THE PRESIDENT IS VISITING NEIGHBORING HEADS OF STATE TO EXPRESS APPRECIATION FOR THEIR HELP IN BRINGING THE PEACE ACCORD TO FRUITION. THE PRIME MINISTER, WHO CONTINUES TO LIVE WITH AMBIGUITY AND DISCORD WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY, HAS REACHED OUT TO THE MILITARY COUNSELING RECONCILIATION. THE POLITICIANS ARE

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FOCUSED ON THE SELECTION OF DELEGATES FOR THE TRANSITION NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND ITS LEADERSHIP, ON NAMING THE MINISTERS, AND ON THE FORMATION OF THE NEW ARMED FORCES. SECURITY CONTINUES TO BE AN ISSUE. MEANWHILE THE RPF IS BEGINNING TO PARTICIPATE IN RWANDAN SOCIETY IN SMALL WAYS. END SUMMARY.

PRESIDENT'S ACTIVITIES

3. PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA TRAVELED AUGUST 28 TO TANZANIA FOR A ONE-DAY VISIT. HE MET WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI TO EXPRESS HIS APPRECIATION FOR TANZANIA'S ASSISTANCE IN BRINGING THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. HE TRAVELED AUGUST 30 TO KAMPALA TO DELIVER THE SAME MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT MUSEVENI. RADIO REPORTS INDICATE THAT HE WOULD ALSO DISCUSS IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE ACCORD INCLUDING POSSIBLY THE RETURN OF REFUGEES AND THE OPENING OF THE NORTHERN CORRIDOR, RWANDA'S PRINCIPAL COMMERCIAL ROUTE TO THE KENYAN PORT OF MOMBASA. THE PRESIDENT'S

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VISIT TO UGANDA COMES ON THE HEELS OF A VISIT BY THE MINISTER OF FINANCE WHO HAD DISCUSSED THE IMPORTANCE OF REESTABLISHING THE COMMERCIAL ROUTE TO THE NORTH.

PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE'S ACTIVITIES

4. PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU MET AUGUST 30 IN KIGALI WITH THE HEADS OF RWANDA'S MILITARY UNITS AND WITH THE COMMANDERS OF THE MILITARY SECTORS AT THE FRONT. HE TALKED WITH THEM ABOUT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD, IN PARTICULAR ABOUT THE FORMATION OF A NATIONAL ARMY AND THE DEMOBILIZATION PROCESS. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THE TWO ARMIES TO FORCE INTEGRATION. ON THE ISSUE OF DEMOBILIZATION, TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID OBJECTIVITY AND JUSTICE WOULD BE THE BASIS FOR THE PROCESS.

5. COMMENT: TWAGIRAMUNGU THUS FAR HAS STILL NOT MADE ANY PUBLIC MOVES TOWARD RECONCILIATION WITHIN HIS MDR PARTY. THIS CONFIRMS THE IMPRESSION GIVEN TO CHARGE BY PL PARTY PRESIDENT JUSTIN MUGENZI, NAMELY THAT TWAGIRAMUNGU IS WORKING BEHIND THE SCENES TO WIN OVER ONE BY ONE POLITICAL BUREAU MEMBERS IN ORDER TO

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SHIFT THE BALANCE OF SUPPORT AWAY FROM FORMER PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE TO HIMSELF. ONLY THEN WILL HE MAKE A PUBLIC MOVE SUCH AS CALLING FOR A POLITICAL BUREAU MEETING TO ENDORSE HIS POSITIONS. END COMMENT.

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6. THE POLITICAL PARTIES ARE MOVING FORWARD WITH
THEIR SELECTION OF DELEGATES TO THE 70-MEMBER
TRANSITION NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. DESPITE SERIOUS
DIVISIONS IN THE MAJOR OPPOSITION PARTY, THE MDR,
REGIONAL (PREFECTORAL) CONGRESSES HELD AT THE WEEKEND
SELECTED THEIR ELEVEN DEPUTIES, ONE FROM EACH
PREFECTURE. PL PRESIDENT MUGENZI TOLD CHARGE THAT
TWAGIRAMUNGU WAS SATISFIED WITH THE OUTCOME OF THESE
CONGRESSES. MUGENZI CLAIMED THAT SIX OF THE ELEVEN
ELECTED DELEGATES SUPPORT TWAGIRAMUNGU WHILE ONLY
FIVE SUPPORT THE FORMER PRIME MINISTER, AN INDICATION
THAT GRASS ROOTS SUPPORT IS TENDING TOWARD

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4573
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 KIGALI 03224

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TWAGIRAMUNGU. MUGENZI ALSO CLAIMED THAT THE REGIONAL
CONGRESSES FUNCTIONED SMOOTHLY, DESPITE PARTY

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DIFFERENCES. NEVERTHELESS, THIS WAS NOT THE
CONCLUSION OF ANOTHER OBSERVER WHO SAID THAT IN AT
LEAST ONE PREFECTURE THE PARTY HELD TWO SEPARATE
CONGRESSES AND ELECTED TWO DIFFERENT DELEGATES.

7. THE THREE OTHER PARTIES, NOT COUNTING THE RPF,
WHICH WILL EACH SEND ELEVEN DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY, WILL ALSO HOLD PREFECTURE LEVEL CONGRESSES
TO CHOOSE THEIR DELEGATES. AVODQN THE LPFBG RKAJ#14))5#&;3?\$/7736:;\$ 9,3
SEAT EACH HAVE ALSO CHOSEN THEIR REPRESENTATIVES. SO
FAR ONLY THE CDR, THE HUTU EXTREMIST PARTY, AND THE
PD, A CENTRIST PARTY, HAVE OPTED NOT TO PARTICIPATE
IN THE NEXT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT

8. THE PEACE ACCORD CALLS FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
PRESIDENT TO COME FROM EITHER THE LIBERAL PARTY OR
FROM THE PSD, TWO OPPOSITION PARTIES THAT GENERALLY
ALIGN THEMSELVES WITH THE MDR. EACH IS TO PRESENT A
CANDIDATE TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DELEGATES FOR A
VOTE. THE PARTY LOSING THE PRESIDENCY WILL THEN

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PRESENT TWO CANDIDATES FOR THE VICE PRESIDENCY.

9. THE TWO CANDIDATES FOR ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT ARE NOW KNOWN. FELICIEN NGANGO, A WELL-KNOWN LAWYER AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST, IS THE PSD CANDIDATE. THE PL HAS NOMINATED AN UNKNOWN, RETIRED CIVIL SERVANT, ADALBERT RWIGAMBEMBA. THE PL'S NATIONAL COMMITTEE SELECTED HIM FROM AMONG THOSE WHO WILL STAND IN ELECTIONS FOR ASSEMBLY DELEGATE THIS WEEKEND. THIS
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PROCEDURE REPLACED ONE EXPLAINED EARLIER TO CHARGE WHEREBY THE CANDIDATE FOR ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT WOULD BE SELECTED FROM THOSE ELECTED THIS WEEKEND BY THE PREFECTURE OF CONGRESSES.

10. COMMENT: LAST WEEK IT LOOKED AS IF THE CURRENT MINISTER FOR LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, LANDOALD NDASINGWA, WAS LIKELY TO EMERGE AS THE PL'S CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THIS MIGHT WELL HAVE BEEN THE CASE IF THE PL HAD FOLLOWED ITS ORIGINAL PROCEDURE. THE REVERSAL, HOWEVER, WAS APPARENTLY ORCHESTRATED TO CUT HIM OUT OF THIS POSITION. THIS INTERNAL PARTY MANEUVERING IS REINFORCING OBSERVATIONS THAT THE LIBERAL PARTY IS ATTEMPTING TO DRIVE ITS TUTSI MEMBERS OUT OF THE PARTY AND INTO THE RPF PARTY. OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THE PSD CANDIDATE WILL WIN EASILY OVER THE PL CANDIDATE, DESPITE MUGENZI'S PROTESTATIONS TO THE CONTRARY. END COMMENT.

SELECTION OF MINISTERS

11. THE PARTIES PROVIDING MINISTERS IN THE NEXT GOVERNMENT WILL, FOR THE MOST PART, USE MORE RESTRICTED SELECTION METHODS THAN THOSE FOR CHOOSING THEIR ASSEMBLY DELEGATES. IN MOST CASES, MINISTERS WILL BE NAMED AFTER TNA DELEGATES ARE SELECTED. NEVERTHELESS IT IS CLEAR THAT SOME MINISTERS WILL BE RETAINED AND OTHERS WILL BE REPLACED. FOR EXAMPLE, THE LIBERAL PARTY ALREADY KNOWS THAT MINISTER LANDOALD WILL NOT BE RETAINED AS MINISTER FOR LABOR

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AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS. MUGENZI CLAIMED TO CHARGE THAT
THIS IS BECAUSE LANDOALD HAS LOST SUPPORT OF THE
PARTY MEMBERSHIP OVER HIS HANDLING OF MINISTERIAL
AFFAIRS. HE IS UNDER SUSPICION BY SOME OF HAVING
PROFITED ALONG WITH THE FORMER PRIME MINISTER FROM
EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE TO THE DISPLACED PERSONS.

FORCE INTEGRATION

12. IN PREPARATION FOR FORCE INTEGRATION, THE RWANDAN
MILITARY IS REVIEWING ITS RULES FOR RETIREMENT AND

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P 311503Z AUG 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4574
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SUBJECT: PREPARING FOR THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT

PROMOTION IN ANTICIPATION OF ESTABLISHING CRITERIA
FOR DECIDING WHO WILL BE RETAINED FOR THE NEW RWANDAN
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ARMED FORCES AND WHO WILL BE DEMOBILIZED. THE
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DECIDED AT LAST WEEK'S MEETING
THAT THERE WOULD BE NO EXCEPTIONS TO THE MILITARY'S
RETIREMENT RULES AS IT BEGINS THIS INTEGRATION
PROCESS. THIS MEANS THAT MOST OF THE OFFICERS MUST
RETIRE AT AGE 50. THIS REGULATION WILL CATCH COLONEL
AUGUSTIN NDINDILIYIMANA, WHO IS GENERALLY CONSIDERED
TO HAVE DONE A GOOD JOB AS THE HEAD OF THE
GENDARMERIE DURING THE PAST YEAR. IT WILL ALSO CATCH
COLONEL BAGOSORA, CURRENTLY DIRECTOR OF THE CABINET
AT THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE AND WIDELY CONSIDERED TO
BE AN EXTREME HARDLINER WHO POSED CONSIDERABLE
DIFFICULTIES FOR FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER GASANA.
BAGOSORA, WHO WAS ALREADY OPERATING UNDER A ONE-YEAR
WAIVER OF THE RETIREMENT RULES, HAD ALSO REQUESTED TO
BE PROMOTED TO GENERAL WHICH WOULD HAVE ALLOWED HIM
TO CONTINUE WORKING UNTIL AGE 55. THIS WILL BE
DENIED. THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE HAS ALSO
ESTABLISHED, WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE COUNCIL OF
MINISTERS, A COMMISSION TO DEVELOP TRAINING PACKAGES
FOR INTEGRATION OF THE ARMED FORCES AND ANOTHER TO
DEVELOP CRITERIA FOR DEMOBILIZATION.

13. FOUR POLITICAL PARTIES, MDR, PSD, PL, AND PDC,
SENT A LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER AUGUST 17
WEIGHING IN ON THE ISSUE OF DEMOBILIZATION CRITERIA.
THESE PARTIES JUSTIFIED THEIR INTERVENTION ON GROUNDS
THAT THIS WAS NOT MERELY A TECHNICAL OPERATION BUT
ONE THAT HAD FAR-REACHING POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND HUMAN
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS
INSTITUTIONS. THE PARTIES ARGUED THAT, IN ADDITION

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TO STRICTLY MILITARY CRITERIA, REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION
SHOULD ALSO BE A CONSIDERATION IN FORMATION OF THE
NEW ARMED FORCES. THE PARTIES RECOMMENDED THAT THE
DEMOBILIZATION COMMISSION BE COMPRISED OF HALF
MILITARY AND HALF CIVILIAN MEMBERS. THE PRESIDENT OF
THE MRND PARTY, MATHIEU NGIRUMPATSE, TOLD CHARGE THAT
HIS PARTY AGREES WITH THE RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY THE
OTHER PARTIES ON DEMOBILIZATION CRITERIA. IN
RESPONSE TO A QUERY, HE SAID THAT HIS PARTY HAD NOT
BEEN CONSULTED IN ADVANCE ON THE FALSE ASSUMPTION
THAT THE PRESENTATION OF THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, A
MEMBER OF THE MRND, HAD REPRESENTED THE PARTY'S
POSITION WITH HIS PROPOSAL.

SECURITY

14. SECURITY CONTINUES TO BE A CONCERN AS THE COUNTRY
PREPARES TO IMPLEMENT THE PEACE ACCORD. PL PRESIDENT
MUGENZI, WHOSE PARTY HEADS THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE,
IS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE RECENT
POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS OF GAPIYISI AND RWAMBUKA. HE
CLAIMS THAT THE INVESTIGATIONS HAVE TURNED UP GOOD
LEADS THAT ARE BEING PURSUED AND RESULTING IN A
NUMBER OF ARRESTS. BY THE ACCOUNT OF THE PUBLIC
PROSECUTOR FOR THE COURT OF APPEALS, HOWEVER, IT
WOULD SEEM THAT THE LEADS ARE FAIRLY WEAK. TWO
PEOPLE ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE GAPIYISI AFFAIR
WERE MURDERED IN KIGALI PRISON IN MID-AUGUST
ALLEGEDLY FOR BEING INFORMANTS FOR THE GENDARMERIE
INVESTIGATION UNIT.

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15. CHARGE DISCUSSED THE SECURITY ISSUE WITH
NGIRUMPATSE, PRESIDENT OF THE MRND. HE ACKNOWLEDGED
THAT THERE WERE MANY PEOPLE WHO HAD HAD PRIVULEOASQD
RFSCPFO HE ONE-PARTY REGIME WHO DO NOT WANT THE PEACE
ACCORD TO WORK. NEVERTHELESS, HE DENIED THAT THE
MRND AS A PARTY WOULD BE INVOLVED IN SABOTAGING THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACCORD. HE SAID THAT THE MRND
IS NOT THREATENING PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT PERSUASIONS OR
WHO MAY HAVE INFORMATION ABOUT PAST DEEDS. HE
ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE MAY BE INDIVIDUALS DOING SO,

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BUT HE ASSURED CHARGE THAT THEY WERE NOT UNDER THE

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CONTROL OR ACTING UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE MRND. TO
THE CONTRARY, HE NOTED THAT MANY OF THE PEOPLE WHO
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HAVE LOST THEIR LIVES IN MYSTERIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES
HAVE BEEN MEMBERS OF THE MRND. NGIRUMPATSE ALSO
ASSURED CHARGE THAT THE MRND PARTY YOUTH, THE
INTERAHAMWE, ARE NOW UNDER CONTROL. HE SAID THAT WE
SHOULD NOT ANTICIPATE ANY FURTHER POLITICAL VIOLENCE
AT THEIR HANDS.

RPF PARTICIPATION

16. EVEN THOUGH THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING
THE RPF, HAS YET TO BE SWORN IN, CHARGE IS LEARNING
ABOUT MORE AND MORE ACTIVITIES WHICH ARE INCLUDING
THE RPF. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HELD A CONFERENCE
AUGUST 30 WITH YOUTH LEADERS FROM THROUGHOUT THE
COUNTRY TO DISCUSS RECONCILIATION. THIS CONFERENCE
REPORTEDLY INCLUDED AN RPF DELEGATION. THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE RED CROSS (ICRC), HAS
INVITED THE RPF TO SEND DOCTORS AND NURSES TO A
MEETING IT WILL HOLD IN THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE THIS
WEEK ON THE QUESTION OF REESTABLISHING HEALTH
SERVICES FOR RETURNING DISPLACED PEOPLE. THE WORLD
BANK HAS INVITED THE RPF TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO A
MEETING IN KIGALI AT WHICH IT WILL BRIEF POLITICAL
PARTY LEADERS ON THE RWANDAN ECONOMIC SITUATION.

17. THE FIRST RPF MEMBER TO TRAVEL ON AN OFFICIAL GOR
PASSPORT SPENT LAST WEEK IN THE U.S. AT THE U.S.
NAVAL JUSTICE SCHOOL WITH A FOUR-PERSON IMET
DELEGATION FINALIZING THE PROGRAM FOR A SEMINAR ON
"THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN DEMOCRACY."

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COMMENT

18. RWANDANS APPEAR TO BE APPROACHING THE TASK OF
SELECTING PARTICIPANTS IN THEIR TRANSITION
INSTITUTIONS WITH THE DEDICATION AND SERIOUSNESS OF
VETERAN POLITICIANS. THERE IS KEEN INTEREST IN THE
PROCESS WHICH BODES WELL FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE
TRANSITION PERIOD. LEADER

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